

INDUSTRIAL LEAGUE FOR
DEMOCRACY

40

YEARS OF EDUCATION

SYMPOSIUM BY

UPTON SINCLAIR AND MANY OTHERS

Edited by

HARRY W. LAIDLER

LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

112 EAST 19TH STREET

NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY, INC.

112 EAST 19TH STREET, NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

Object: "Education for Increasing Democracy in Our Economic, Political and Cultural Life."

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The League for Industrial Democracy is a non-profit, educational organization committed to a program of "education in behalf of increasing democracy in our economic, political and cultural life."

Membership in the League is open to those who believe in the League's democratic purposes. The League likewise welcomes contributions from those in sympathy with its activities. Contributions are deductible in computing the income tax.

The yearly L.I.D. dues are: Active members, \$3; Contributing members, \$5-\$10; Sustaining members, \$10 to \$100; Life members, \$100 or more.

I wish to become a.....member of the L.I.D.

I hereby pledge.....toward the educational work of the League.

Name

Address

Occupation..... Graduate of.....

THE LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

Forty Years of Education

THE TASK AHEAD

SYMPOSIUM

Edited by

HARRY W. LAIDLER

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JULIUS HOCHMAN	and many others.

LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

112 East 19th Street

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Price 25 cents

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ON THE EVENING OF FEBRUARY 3, 1945, the League for Industrial Democracy held its Fortieth Anniversary celebration in the Hotel Roosevelt, New York, before between 400 and 500 men and women, representatives of the civic, labor and progressive life of the city.

Throughout the week preceding and following the dinner, Dr. John Dewey, Honorary President of the League, Mark Starr, President, and Harry W. Laidler, Executive Director, received many congratulatory messages from prominent friends of the League in the United States and abroad. A few of the messages were as follows:

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 31, 1945.

Dear Mr. Dewey:

I am very glad to be given this opportunity to send a word of greeting to the League for Industrial Democracy on its Fortieth Anniversary.

Democracy can only survive and grow as its citizens become aware of their responsibilities and take an active part in their government, federal, state and local. It is not enough to vote once a year and leave the governing of the country on any level to a small group of people who may or may not be unselfish. Every law that is passed, every plan made and carried through, touches the individual and therefore it is our obligation to watch each step as it is proposed.

In addition we must all work to make this country a true democracy where every citizen, regardless of race or religion, is given an equal opportunity to lead a dignified and satisfying life.

Very sincerely yours,

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT

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AUSTRALASIA

Dear Mr. Laidler: Mr. Curtin wishes to convey to all present at the gathering on February 3rd his greetings for himself and for his Australian Labor party.

SECRETARY OF JOHN CURTIN
Prime Minister of Australia

Dear Mr. Laidler: I should like you to convey to the Board of Directors and members of the League my heartiest congratulations on the attainment of the League's Fortieth Anniversary and every good wish for success in the years to come.

Let us hope that it will not be long before the wars with Germany and Japan are terminated and that wise judgment and reason will prevail in establishing an enduring Peace amongst all Nations.

C. A. BERENDSEN

New Zealand Minister to the United States

Several letters were also received during the past few months from Hon. Walter Nash, Deputy Prime Minister of New Zealand, congratulatory of the work of the League.

CHINA

Dear Mr. Laidler: May I take this opportunity to convey to you by this letter my warm and sincere congratulations for the Fortieth Anniversary of the founding of the League for Industrial Democracy, and my best wishes for your continuing and expanding success in the realization of your commendable object: Education in behalf of increasing democracy in our economic, political and cultural life. Here's more power to you and your colleagues from a fellow democrat in Free China."

SUN FO
President Legislative Yuan

[Dr. Fo, the son of Dr. Sun Yat Sen, was an active member of the League while an undergraduate at the University of California from which he was graduated in 1916.]

From the Czechoslovak Republic

Dear Mr. Laidler: I am asked by Dr. Benes to thank you for your letter of December 11th and your kind suggestion that he should send you a message on the occasion of your Fortieth Anniversary celebration.

Unfortunately, however, your letter only reached the President too late for him to be able to comply with your request. He is obliged to confine himself, therefore, to sending you his best wishes for the success of your organization and its work.

DR. ED. TABORSKY
Secretary President Edvard Benes

Dear Mr. Laidler: Very sorry not to be with you on Saturday night. The League for Industrial Democracy has done good work during the past forty years. It has steadily upheld the democratic principles we fought to make the world safe for in the last war. The faults of the past quarter century have not been due to democracy. They were due to our lack of faith in democracy. Steadfastness in the democratic way of life will give us the moral victory which will crown our long ordeal in battle. I hope to be at your Jubilee Dinner in 1955.

JAN MASARYK

[By cable from London. Dr. Masaryk, then Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary of the Czechoslovak Republic, accepted last year the first honorary membership in the L.I.D.]

GREAT BRITAIN

From Great Britain came congratulatory messages from Ernest Bevin, labor leader and Secretary of Labor and National Service; from Clement Attlee, Deputy Prime Minister; Arthur Greenwood, Leader of the Parliamentary Labor party; Sir Stafford Cripps, Secretary of the Ministry of Aircraft Production; Fenner Brockway, Political Secretary of the Independent Labor party and Sir Norman Angell, winner of the Nobel Peace Award, now in the United States. Some of the messages are as follows:

Dear Mr. Laidler: I am pleased to learn that the L.I.D. is celebrating its Fortieth Anniversary on February 3rd. The names of Jack London, Upton Sinclair and Morris Hillquit conjure up many vivid memories of this propaganda era of the movement.

Democracy will have many problems to face in the future. Responsible public opinion will become of greater importance than ever before. Indeed, there will never be lasting peace in the world until the same regard and acceptance of the moral force of law and order are placed consciously and deliberately behind international affairs as they have been behind our national conduct. Therefore the work the League is doing in furthering education in industrial democracy over a wide field enabling the public to form a sound judgment and to exercise it consciously is of vital importance to all peoples at the present time.

I send you greetings and wish you well in your work and trust that the League will continue to enjoy the success which has attended its long years of educational effort in this important sphere.

ERNEST BEVIN
Secretary of Labor and National Service

To Harry Laidler: I send my best wishes to the League for Industrial Democracy on this its Fortieth anniversary.

Never has there been a greater need to increase the understanding of democratic methods and principles and to increase the efficiency of the mechanism through which democracy works.

We have fought this war to establish the principle of the democratic rights of the people of the world against the totalitarian creeds and desires of the Nazis and Fascists. We must see to it that our resulting victory creates a world situation in which democracy can survive and flourish.

Particularly in the industrial field must we get away from the old fashioned idea that "the workers" are mere human machines, whose function is to obey

blindly the dictates of those who possess industrial power.

We in Great Britain have made great advances, through our Joint Production Advisory Committees, towards the fuller participation by the workers in the organization of production and I hope and believe that after the war we shall continue that advance.

I know that you too in America have gone forward in this direction and that the League has given a strong impetus to such progress.

I trust that in the years to come our two countries will go forward side by side and will demonstrate to the world that democracy can be both fair and efficient in its organization of industry.

I congratulate you all most warmly upon the good work of the last 40 years and I hope that in the future the League will make an ever growing contribution to the progress of the American people.

STAFFORD CRIPPS
Secretary of the Ministry of Aircraft Production

Dear Mr. Laidler: I wish I could be at your gathering to celebrate your 40th anniversary. I should like to be with you first because it would be so good to renew the comradeship which became so close during my three visits to America as a lecturer under your auspices but also, and this is more important, to be able to testify to the educational work which the League has done. Ever since it was established by Jack London, Upton Sinclair and Morris Hillquit in 1905 it has been teaching the fundamental truth that we can never have democracy unless it permeates our every day life and our daily work as well as the super-structure of the political machine. One might as well say that the Empire State building is illuminated when its top floor is lit up and the rest of the building is in darkness. We have to illuminate the world with democracy by lighting it from the bottom up.

FENNER BROCKWAY
Political Secretary, I.L.P.

Dear Mr. Laidler: My association with the League goes back to the days of the first World War. If we are to build democracy firmly, we must recognize that it is a difficult method to work, and that we shall not work it successfully unless we are educated in the understanding of its necessary conditions. This task of education was at the League's foundation proclaimed as one of its main purposes. I trust that that task of education, as distinguished from indoctrination, will continue to be its main purpose.

NORMAN ANGELL

SWEDEN

Dear Mr. Laidler: Your letter of December 11 has only just reached me, too late for a message to the anniversary dinner of the League for Industrial Democracy. I wish, however, to congratulate you personally on this anniversary and on the achievements of the League. I trust that the educational work of the League will manifest itself in the future—as it has done in the past—as a constructive factor for consolidation of democracy and establishment of peace.

PER ALBIN HANSSON
Prime Minister

EDITORIAL GREETINGS

FROM THE JANUARY SURVEY MIDMONTHLY

"In years of tumult and confusion, of high powered propaganda and sinister forces, the quiet, consistent impact of an organization like the League for Industrial Democracy is apt to be taken more or less for granted. Even its friends may be surprised to learn that for four decades now the organization has carried on its 'education in behalf of increasing democracy in our economic, political, and cultural life.' The occasion will be celebrated at a dinner and conference on February 3, 1945, at the Hotel Roosevelt, New York.

"The L.I.D.'s executive director, Harry W. Laidler, belongs to that rare species of thinker and citizen who,

far from being above the battle, has long been in there pitching for a better world. With a glint of pleasure in his eye, he recalls that as an undergraduate at Wesleyan he was appointed to the executive committee of the original Intercollegiate Socialist Society, founded in 1905, with Jack London as president, Upton Sinclair as vice-president, and Owen R. Lovejoy as treasurer.

"As New York City councilman in 1940-41, Mr. Laidler took a leading part in the fight for slum clearance, for public ownership of electricity, for a more scientific taxation system, consumer protection, and the strengthening of the social services.

"In addition to lecturing on economics at the College of the City of New York and serving on the board of the National Bureau of Economic Research, of which he is a former president, he is the author of many books. 'Social-Economic Movements—The story of humanity's struggle for freedom and a better life,' has only recently come off the press. His earlier 'Program for Modern America' appeared among the ten best works of non-fiction in 1936."

FROM AN EDITORIAL IN THE NATION

"On September 12, 1905, in Peck's Restaurant, 140 Fulton St., New York, a small group met together and observed that 'the recent remarkable increase in the Socialist vote in America should serve as some indication to the educated men and women of this country that socialism is a thing concerning which it is no longer wise to be indifferent.' On this note of academic optimism the Intercollegiate Socialist Society was born.

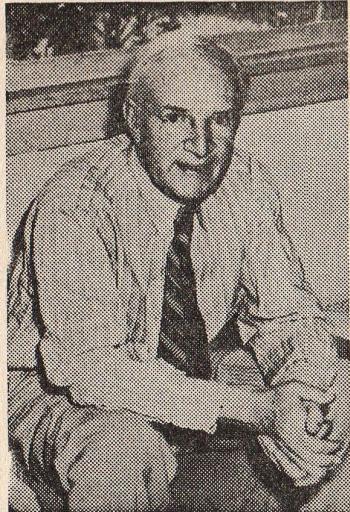
". . . The recent Socialist vote of 1944 looks small in comparison with the 400,000 polled in 1904, but the forces of progress which are cutting new channels through walls of tradition and dogma, more than justify the vision of the pioneers of forty years ago. *The Nation* congratulates the League and its directors."

OTHER MESSAGES

Messages were likewise received from M.J. Coldwell, M.P., and David Lewis, President and Secretary re-

spectively of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation of Canada, William Norton, leader of the Irish Labor party, and others.

Other messages from American friends of the League are mentioned on pages 52-56.



UPTON SINCLAIR
Founder of the League;
Pulitzer Prize Winner



HARRY W. LAIDLER
Executive Director of the League
for Industrial Democracy; Member
of the Governing Board of the
I.S.S. and the L.I.D. since their
inception.

The Fortieth Anniversary Dinner

AT THE FORTIETH ANNIVERSARY DINNER at the Hotel Roosevelt, on February 3, 1945, Mark Starr, President of the L.I.D., acted as toastmaster. In his introductory remarks, Mr. Starr dwelt upon the years of fruitful and constructive educational work on the part of the League and then presented to the audience for brief or more extended remarks Upton Sinclair; Executive Director Laidler; Frank Scott, Chairman of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation of Canada; Arthur Creech Jones, British Labor M. P.; Newbold Morris, President of the New York City Council; Julius Hochman, Vice President, I. L. G. W. U.; Charles G. Bolte, Chairman of the American Veterans' Committee; John L. Childs, Professor of Philosophy of Education, Teachers' College, Columbia; Harry A. Overstreet, philosopher and lecturer; Theresa Wolfson, Economist, of Brooklyn College; Norman Thomas, Chairman Post-war World Council; Wallace J. Campbell, Assistant Secretary, Cooperative League, U. S. A.; Algernon Lee, President, Rand School of Social Science and John Paul Jones, President, New York Chapter, L. I. D. He introduced as the first speaker of the evening, Upton Sinclair, Pulitzer Prize winner, one of the most widely read of the social novelists of the day and the founder of the Inter-collegiate Socialist Society, predecessor of the L. I. D.

"Mr. Sinclair regrets," said Mr. Starr, "that he cannot be with us tonight, as he is feverishly at work finishing another Lanny Budd novel to meet a dead line. His recorded address is being broadcast now on the Pacific Coast. He had planned to speak directly to us, but found that the wire charges would be \$400, an 'outrageous charge,' he declares, 'and another argument for public ownership of our system of communications'."

The recorded address of Upton Sinclair, listened to intently by the audience, was as follows:

LET US HAVE DEMOCRACY WHOLE

UPTON SINCLAIR

Pulitzer Prize Winner, Founder of I. S. S.

"What hath God wrought?" exclaimed the inventor of the telegraph, very modestly. How startled he would have been had he known that God would arrange it for a man to sit in a room in California and address a group of dinner guests in New York without having to raise his voice!

Fifty-three years ago the man whose voice you are hearing started his college education. Nine years later he emerged from the graduate department of Columbia University, presumably a well educated man. But he did not know that the modern socialist movement existed. Plato, yes; and Sir Thomas More, yes; but he had never heard of Bellamy, and he thought that German Socialists made bombs in the back rooms of saloons. Groping as if in a dark tunnel, and spurred by poverty and bitter humiliation, he worked out for himself the conclusion that a condition of organized wholesale greed on the one hand and grinding poverty on the other was not the best for shaping of human character or for the progress of civilization. He believed, quite literally, that he was the only person in the world who thought this, and he decided in solemn anguish to take up the task of teaching it to mankind.

I MAKE A DISCOVERY

There was a magazine called *Current Literature*, and this unhappy young man went there to offer a book review, and ran into another young man named Leonard Abbott, who gave him a copy of a weekly paper called *The Comrade*. From it he learned that there were others who thought as he did and had built a movement around the idea. His discovery was like the opening of a dungeon door; it was like Cristoforo Colombo discovering a new world. What he read in that forgotten weekly paper, and in others which he quickly came upon, has dominated his whole life, has provided him with hope and courage for forty-three years of struggle, and for the writing of some sixty books and half as many pamphlets, and thousands of articles and letters and speeches. It drove him to fourteen months of active and hard political campaigning in an effort to take possession of the Democratic party in California and to use it to teach the people this set of ideas:

"That the toiling millions of human beings on this globe do not have to spend their lives as the slaves of monopoly privilege.

That the treasures of nature's resources do not have to be thrown out into the arena to be scrambled for and seized by the greediest. That the principle upon which our republic was founded, government by the consent of the governed, can and must be applied to industry as to politics. That an economic system can be built, by which goods will be produced, not for the private profit of exploiters, but for the benefit and use of all."

THE I. S. S. ORGANIZES

The writer who is telling you this story looked back upon his five years of college and four years of university education, and asked: "Why was nothing like this taught to me by the professors? Can it be that the youth of the colleges is not allowed to know that poverty is unnecessary in the world today?" I decided that, since the professors would not educate the students, it was up to the students to educate the professors. I drafted a proposal for the organizing of a society, and the first meeting was held in Peck's Restaurant on Fulton Street in New York, forty years ago. A group was formed, which for some time consisted of myself and several friends sitting up into the small hours of the morning, mailing out literature, some of which was indignantly returned. Among those at the first meeting was a Wesleyan student by the name of Harry Laidler, and I recall that for a long time the dream of my soul was that the Intercollegiate Socialist Society might enjoy a secure income of eighteen dollars a week so that Harry might serve as our permanent full-time organizer. He will tell you how full the time has been these many years!

We chose Jack London as our president, and he came east in the splendor of his newly-won literary fame and delivered an address entitled REVOLUTION which you may find in his published book of that name. It made a great stir, both in New York and at Yale, and Jack went around signing his name in hotel registers: "Yours for the revolution." The years have passed, and we have seen a social revolution, and many of us were not pleased with all its aspects. Beyond any doubt the Soviet system represents an enormous social gain for the Russians; but we in America have a different civilization, we have been accustomed to self-government for three centuries on this continent and even longer in the motherland of parliaments. We plan and work for a social change by majority consent, one which will take no man's life and no man's property.

Compensation versus Confiscation has been debated in our movement since it began. What influence I possess has always been cast for Compensation, on the ground that the wastes and uncertain outcome of civil strife are not necessary to change in a democracy.

The waste might easily exceed the cost of the industrial plant of our country; and this without taking into account the moral gains of an orderly and gradual change.

We in America have had native socialists of whom we should be proud: Edward Bellamy, Albert Brisbane, Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Gene Debs, Horace Greeley, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, William Dean Howells, to name only a few. But in the minds of the American people the word socialism has come to be associated with Marxist theories and almost synonymous with philosophical materialism, a dogma which has nothing to do with sociology or economics, and which, incidentally, modern science has thrown upon the scrap heap. Many years ago the Intercollegiate Socialist Society changed its name to the League for Industrial Democracy, which tells exactly what we aim at.

THE NEED FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

Henry Ford has told us that democracy has nothing to do with industry, but the fact that he makes a good automobile is no sign that he is a good social thinker. The fact is that the democracy which has nothing to do with industry is a sham and a fraud; for the way men get their living is of the utmost importance to them, and if they cannot have anything to say about it, they are slaves; if they cannot bring about social changes by political action and majority consent, they are driven to revolution. You would think that the French revolution and the Russian would serve as warnings to all our industrial leaders. But, alas, eyes have they and they see not, ears have they and they hear not, neither do they understand.

Abraham Lincoln, a much sounder sociologist, told us that a nation cannot exist half slave and half free. That is what is the matter with our nation today; we have democracy in our political system and autocracy in our industrial system and these two are like a monkey and a parrot, they fight whenever they see each other. Our recent election was such a monkey and a parrot time, even though most of the old-line Democrats didn't realize that they were fighting for democracy in industry and wouldn't have admitted it even to themselves. Democracy is a living and growing human right, and it is not going to be confined to the Anglo-Saxon and eastern European lands. All over the world the people crave the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. They want government of the people, by the people, for the people, and they want it not merely in politics but in industry. They want to control the means by which they earn their daily bread, and to save themselves from panics, crises, and universal war.

We are going to see after this war a period of hilarious pros-

perity while we repair war's ravages in our own and other lands. I do not know how long this will last, but surely not another span of Harding, Coolidge and Hoover. Our machines run so much faster now and the products flow out so much faster that three years is equal to a decade. When the glut comes, we shall see a worldwide crisis of proportions never dreamed of by any sociologist. There will be thirty or forty millions out of work in America alone, and we shall have a choice of two alternatives: either to instal a dictator and put down the labor movement and start the Nazi-Fascist gangster period all over again; or else to have the government take charge of the factories and put up the credit to keep them running.

That need not mean complete government ownership; there can be many variations in the conduct of industry by boards representing management, labor, and the public interest. The point is that the stockholders will be paid off with long-term bonds, and the goods will no longer be sold for private profit, but will be sold to the people at cost, and wages will be increased so that the workers will have the money to buy what they produce. Thus, and thus alone, can consumption balance production, and from that time on there can be no more panics and no more crises.

Production for use and not for profit—you, friends of the League for Industrial Democracy, are not frightened when you hear that slogan. The private owners of industry are frightened, but that is because they do not understand what is happening, and cannot see the world can get along without private owners of industry. Two centuries ago there were conscientious kings and emperors who contemplated the rise of republicanism with exactly the same doubts and fears; but, you see, we have our republic and we hold our elections, even in the midst of a deadly and destructive war. We have a civil war of words and of ballots, but not of bullets, and we take self-government in political affairs as our sacred birth-right. Democracy in industry seems to us something new, and we hardly realize how far we have gone when the workers in some great plant hold an election under government auspices and decide whether they wish to be represented by a company union, or by the A. F. of L., or by the C. I. O. Great oaks from little acorns grow, and when they are grown we live in their shade and enjoy it.

Some Socialists were displeased when the Intercollegiate Socialist Society changed its name to the League for Industrial Democracy. More were displeased when I set out to take over the Democratic Party in my home state with the slogan "End Poverty in California." As it happens, I was making a scientific test, by running first on the Socialist ticket and getting some sixty thousand votes, and a few years later on the EPIC Democratic ticket

and getting 879,000 votes. So I know that it will be the Democratic Party and not the Socialist Party which will bring this great change to America. It will not be called socialism; its opponents will insist that it is communism, while its friends will know that it is industrial democracy.

A TOAST TO THE LEAGUE

Our country is fortunate in having for the next four years a leader who understands something of this problem and will not shrink from the great test when it comes. Franklin D. Roosevelt has been to some extent a prisoner of reactionary forces in the Democratic Party in the great cities of the North, and in portions of the South where the poor are excluded from the ballot by the poll-tax, and where the newly rich industrialists are still at the stage of social thinking where they would like to lynch all labor organizers. The government makes them hold elections instead under the National Labor Relations Board—and so they clamor for state's rights!

Speaking to me in his Hyde Park study a little more than ten years ago, our great President said: "Mr. Sinclair, I cannot go any faster than the people will let me." That is what the League for Industrial Democracy is for—to go out to the people by radio and leaflet and pamphlet and explain what democracy really means, and how it can be applied to industry and why it would be to the advantage of every man and woman. That is why I appeal to you to support this forty-year-old and honorable organization. War bonds are important, but so are peace bonds, and so are the bonds of love—I do not mean merely the holy bonds of matrimony, but the bonds of brotherhood and humanity. This was placed in our hearts by a Heavenly Father, who bade us love one another, and surely did not intend us to establish a system which would make it necessary to blow our brothers to bits with high explosive shells and airplane bombs and other instruments out of hell.

Drink a toast of good Croton water to the long life and quick success of the L. I. D. (*Applause.*)

FORTY YEARS OF L. I. D.

HARRY W. LAIDLER

Executive Director, League for Industrial Democracy

Upton Sinclair in his recorded address has just told us something of the beginnings of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, the forerunner of the League for Industrial Democracy. It seems but a few years ago that I went over with young William Feigenbaum, then an undergraduate at Columbia, to the meeting at Peck's Restaurant in lower New York, climbed up several flights of stairs, and listened intently to Upton Sinclair, who, at 27, had already written five historical and social novels, tell of the need of an organization which would throw a flood of light into the dark corners of our educational institutions. Dan Hoan, later Socialist Mayor of Milwaukee, Bill Leiserson, later famous labor arbitrator, and others had started a socialist study club at Wisconsin a few years before, and William English Walling and his brother had organized one at the University of Chicago, but, on the whole, the college world was devoid of student organizations devoted to the discussion of fundamental social problems.

A GLANCE AT THE YEAR 1905

The year 1905 seemed to many a propitious time for the formation of such a society. The country had just passed through the second great period of trustification, and President Theodore Roosevelt and the muck-rakers of that day—Lincoln Steffens, Ray Stannard Baker, Charles Edward Russell, among them—were engaging in wholesale exposures of the activities of the malefactors of great wealth.

From the settlements of the country, such social workers as Jane Addams, Robert Hunter, Paul Kellogg, Mary Simkhovitch and Florence Kelley were bringing the bitter facts of the poverty of the other half to the attention of their more fortunate brothers.

Within and without the churches, social prophets like Walter Rauschenbusch, George Herron, Alexander Irvine and Percy Stickney Grant were maintaining that the Golden Rule was applicable to man's economic life and that it should supplant the rule of gold in the conduct of industrial affairs.

Social literature was increasing in volume, and a new group of novelists and social and economic essayists—Jack London, Sinclair, Frank Norris, David Graham Phillips, Leroy Scott, William English Walling, W. J. Ghent, Walter Weyl, and such distinguished attendants at this dinner as Leonard Abbott, Ernest Poole, Anna Strunsky Walling, Robert W. Bruere and others, were doing much to arouse the American people to constructive thought and social action.

In the field of labor, the A. F. of L. had just concluded a period of remarkable advance. In New York, the I. L. G. W. U., formed in 1900, having increased its yearly income from \$506 in 1900-1 to \$5,212 three years later, was striving desperately for survival, while, in the West, Big Bill Haywood and others were forming their I. W. W., and proclaiming to the country the virtues of industrial unionism and beginning to formulate a theory of American syndicalism.

In the field of socialism, the eloquent voices of Eugene Victor Debs, of Morris Hillquit and others, following the remarkable 1904 campaign, were increasingly heard. Finally, abroad, reports were coming of the steady growth of the British Labor party, about to enter its first significant electoral campaign of 1906, while from Russia came daily harried tales of general strikes, of Bloody Sundays and other massacres, of heartening advances in revolutionary struggles and of tragic retreats.

It was thus but natural that the 100 odd men and women who gathered on that late afternoon in 1905 at Peck's Restaurant should be responsive to the plea of Sinclair and others for the formation of the I. S. S.

The meeting chose as the stated object of the new society that of "promoting an intelligent interest in socialism among college men and women." Jack London was the unanimous choice for President, Sinclair and J. C. Phelps Stokes, for Vice Presidents, Owen R. Lovejoy, crusader for the abolition of child labor, was selected as Treasurer, while Morris Hillquit, Robert Hunter, Katherine Maltby Meserole, George Strobell and Rev. George Willis Cooke, were elected members of the Executive Committee. On the plea by William Feigenbaum that the Executive Committee of a collegiate society should include at least one undergraduate, I was likewise elected a committee member.

JACK LONDON AT YALE

On a shoestring the next season, the society began its career. Sinclair from his home in Princeton, between writing chapters of the *Jungle*, and George Strobell, from his jewelry factory in Newark, sent many a bundle of literature to inquiring students, including copies of Professor E. A. Ross' article on the corrupting

power of wealth on government and "Confessions of a Drone," by Joseph Medill Patterson who represented himself as constituting a type of rich young man receiving an income for which no return was demanded or given. The most spectacular event of the first two years was Jack London's trip among the colleges. He told the students at California, Yale and Harvard that he had found the American university clean and noble, but that he had not found it alive enough.

"And so," he continued, "I became interested in an attempt to arouse in the minds of the young men and women of our universities an interest in the study of socialism. . . We do not desire merely to make converts. . . If collegians cannot fight for us, we want them to fight against us. But what we do not want is that which obtains today and has obtained in the past of the university, a mere deadness and unconcern and ignorance so far as socialism is concerned. Fight for us or fight against us. Raise your voices one way or the other; be alive. That is the idea upon which we are working."

The New Haven papers seemed to dislike the idea of a representative of a new order presenting this sort of challenge before Yale students. "The spectacle of an avowed Socialist, one of the most conspicuous in the country, standing on the platform of Woolsey Hall," declared the *New Haven Register* the next day, "was a sight for God and man."

AT HARVARD AND PRINCETON

During 1906, numerous groups sprang up at Columbia, Wesleyan, Yale, Harvard and other colleges, the charter members of the Harvard Socialist Club including Walter Lippmann, Kenneth Macgowan, Lee Simonson, Nicholas Kelley, Osmond Fraenkel and Heywood Broun, among others, with Sam Elliott, Hiram Moderate, Henry Wilcox, Jack Reed, and others soon joining up. "If any one taking a birdseye view of Cambridge at one o'clock in the morning were to see five or six groups of excited Harvard men gesticulating on various street corners," wrote Lippmann in the *Harvard Illustrated Review* of those days, "let him know that a Socialist Club held a meeting that night."

At Princeton, in 1907, the organizer of the Society was met by a famous Princeton pee-rade, the students in jest escorting him from the train to the assembly hall, holding aloft a red flag, singing, and burning bonfires. During the address, they hurled fire-crackers and skyrockets in the speaker's direction through the windows. When he finished his speech without batting an eye, they hailed him as a good sport.

BEFORE THE FIRST WORLD WAR

In 1907, J. G. Phelps Stokes became President of the Society, Morris Hillquit, treasurer, and the Executive Committee during that and the following year received the rich additions of Ernest Poole, Helen Phelps Stokes, Mary Sanford, Bob Bruere, Elizabeth Dutcher, Jessie Hughan and Paul Kennaday, fresh from a trip to New Zealand. George Kirkpatrick, author of *War, What For*, soon after became a part-time organizer. Miss Sanford, Miss Stokes and Miss Hughan have continued loyal and devoted members of the governing board of the League until the present day. The Rand School, recently born, gave the Society desk room at its headquarters, then in a brownstone house at 112 East 19th Street, on the same site as the present offices. Here the society received the fine services of Rosa Laddon Hanna as assistant secretary. W. J. Ghent and Al Lee, secretaries of the school, served automatically as the society's titular secretaries.

From that time on the I. S. S. continued to expand until the time of the first World War. Its active-minded officers of student clubs included Inez Milholland, Mary Fox, Edna St. Vincent Millay and Gertrude Folks of Vassar; Bruce Bliven of Stanford; Freda Kirchwey of Barnard; Randolph Bourne, Paul Douglas, Max Schonberg, Lewis Lorwin of Columbia; Sam Friedman and Emil Schlesinger of C. C. N. Y.; Isador Lubin of Clark; Evans Clark, Ordway Tead, Spencer Miller, the Raushenbushes and others of Amherst; Broadus Mitchell of Johns Hopkins; Abraham Epstein, the little giant of social insurance, of Pittsburgh; Theresa Wolfson of Adelphi; Devere Allen of Oberlin; Bill Bohn, Otto Markwardt (then instructors) and many brilliant students of Michigan; Selig Perlman, Edwin Witte and Dave Saposs of Wisconsin—with John Childs as an interested attendant at the Wisconsin club meetings—and a host of others who have since become valued leaders of thought in their respective fields.

THE LEAGUE DISCUSSES INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM

During these days, it should be emphasized, the I. S. S. had as its aim an understanding of socialism, rather than the making of socialists, and many of its members joined its chapters as students, not as converts. The Society scheduled hundreds of lectures during these years. Joining the staff in 1910, I was almost continuously in the field from Maine to California at the height of the college year. The society developed a notable literature, ran big Carnegie Hall meetings when Berger was elected Congressman; when Sam Untermyer was persuaded, later much to his regret, to lock horns in debate with Morris Hillquit; when Keir Hardie made his memorable farewell address in this country; when a group of labor leaders

and "intellectuals" organized a symposium on the controversial question of industrial unionism. A couple of days before the industrial union meeting, Sheriff Harburger, some of you in this audience may remember, was called up by a *Sun* reporter and told that one of the speakers was going to advocate sabotage. The little Sheriff declared that he would send 40 deputy sheriffs to the meeting. When I called him on the phone, he said, "Yes, I understand that someone is going to advocate *sabátage* at this meeting. I don't know what *sabátage* is, but if anyone advocates it, I will arrest him immediately."

The announcement that the meeting was going to be honored by 40 tried and true officers of the law helped materially to increase the attendance at the meeting. The Sheriff didn't hear anything that sounded to him as *sabátage*. When Mrs. John Sloan went around for the inevitable collection the little Sheriff put \$1 in the basket and the 40 yawning deputy sheriffs, whom the press described as looking like the cartoons of the followers of the I. W. W., contributed 25-cent pieces each.

The League during these years added significantly to social literature—the source books by William English Walling being particularly noteworthy—and held stirring and stimulating conferences on the burning problems of the day. The conferences in 1915 at Whittier's old homestead; in 1916 at Sherwood Forest with William F. Cochran as the perfect host, and in 1917 at Bellport, L. I., at the charming home of Mr. and Mrs. Darwin J. Meserole—conferences filled with vigorous clashes of opinion on the international situation—are indelibly impressed on my memory. The weekly Camaraderie in New York during the war, presided over by that genius of program makers, Louise Adams Floyd, provided one of the few free public forums in New York in the hectic days during and immediately after the first World War.

In 1921, the I. S. S. was reorganized into the League for Industrial Democracy, with the view, among other things, of including in the League's active membership non-collegians, as well as collegians, and of somewhat broadening its scope.

In the following years between the first and second World Wars, the League's work greatly expanded. Norman Thomas came on its staff in 1922 as co-executive director, and Paul Blanshard as field secretary a short time later. From then through part of the thirties, these two magnetic speakers carried the message of industrial democracy to student and civic groups in all parts of the country and proved towers of strength to the progressive movement. During many of these years, Paul Porter, later Chairman of the Shipbuilding Stabilization Committee, George Edwards, at present Detroit City Councilman, Monroe Sweetland, now with the

Red Cross, Joel Seidman, labor economist, at present in the armed forces, Leroy Bowman, adult educator, and others, organized and lectured with significant results, reaching hundreds of thousands of the youth of our land. The story of how the younger field organizers of the Student L. I. D. hitch-hiked, during the depressed thirties, thousands of miles from college to college on an almost infinitesimal budget, is one of dramatic interest. Many thousands of the youth thus reached have already been heard from and will be heard from increasingly in the councils of the nation in the days to come.

I wish that time permitted me to tell of the effective work of the League during these years, not only in the colleges, but through the lecture series so ably promoted by Mary Fox, Mary Hillyer *et al*; through researches on monopolies, on public utilities, etc.; through summer schools, radio broadcasts, city and college chapter activities; and through the less spectacular but vitally important secretarial work, participated in by such efficient and devoted staff members as Sara Kaplan, my secretary, Hattie Ross, Ida Bernstein and others. My own effectiveness during those years depended to no small extent upon the unstinting support given me in fair weather and foul by my good wife and family. I would like also to name the scores of men and women who gave generously of their time and money, with no thought of reward, to the educational work of the League. The contributions of Ethel Clyde and Margaret Gage during the depression years were especially valuable. But time marches on.

As a result of the depression and the war, the League was obliged to curtail some of its activities. During the last few years, however, it has worked most closely with the trade union movement, has been happy to assist labor unions and others on problems of postwar reconstruction, in the field of pamphleteering, etc., while its recent conferences on race problems, on planning for full employment and other subjects, with the distinguished President of the C. C. F., M. J. Coldwell, and the great New Zealand labor Deputy Prime Minister and I. L. O. President, Walter Nash, as the guests of honor, have set high standards for L. I. D. Conferences. The League has been most fortunate during these years in its Presidents—Florence Kelley, Elisabeth Gilman, J. G. Phelps Stokes, Arthur Gleason, Robert Morss Lovett, John Dewey, Bjarne Braatoy and Mark Starr; in its treasurers, Morris Hillquit, Mary Sanford, Albert DeSilver, Stuart Chase, Reinhold Niebuhr, Herbert Payne; in such Board Chairmen as Norman Thomas and Alfred Baker Lewis; in its executive secretaries, Mary Fox, *et al*; in its many devoted Board and Chapter Executive Members and in scores of unselfish contributors.

The League today is preparing for expanding activity in the

postwar world. It is anxious, as soon as circumstances permit, to develop again its college work with renewed vigor, to stir the youth to keen thinking and courageous action on the problems of the day; to stimulate them not to follow any "line" laid down from above, but to act as a result of their own clear thinking.

The League is in a unique position likewise to contribute increasingly in the future to the formulation of the tremendously important programs for postwar reconstruction.

ROADS TO INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

Throughout its career, the League has emphasized the great value of four roads to industrial democracy—the trade union, cooperative, political and educational roads.

The League has likewise emphasized the need of a social and economic order in which society would produce and distribute the good things of life with the primary aim of service, rather than with the aim of increasing the wealth and power of the few. It has stressed the overwhelming values of democracy both as a means and an end.

We have been heartened by the fivefold increase in trade union membership in this country since the birth of the League; by the recent remarkable strides of the cooperative movement; by the advance of social legislation and social insurance; by the increased public health, educational and employment services provided by the community. We have been happy in the continuous growth across our borders of such progressive movements as the C. C. F. In Europe during the last forty years, we have witnessed revolutionary changes of tremendous social and political significance.

In this country, the League realizes that, while many a skirmish has been won, the main battle for the good life is still ahead. Before the war, under our semi-monopolized capitalism, this country passed through the worst depression in its history. A similar type of depression in Europe provided a fertile soil for fascism and for the present destructive World War.

We must not permit this to happen again. The untold suffering and death of the victims of this war; all of the dictates of humanity, demand that some remedy must be found for these overshadowing social ills. And in seeking that remedy, we must, somehow or other, find a solution that combines high production with distributive justice; democracy with community and cooperative controls; freedom with security, and that renders America a leader in a worldwide effort for permanent peace.

The L.I.D. pledges itself, as it enters its fifth decade of educational activity, to aid to the utmost of its ability in the attainment of these social goals. In this task may we not depend on your full and complete cooperation in the challenging days ahead? (*Applause.*)

THE C.C.F., THE LEAGUE AND CANADIAN PROGRESSIVES

FRANK SCOTT

*Chairman, C.C.F. of Canada
Professor of Law, McGill University
Founder, Social Reconstruction League*

FIRST of all tonight I want to bring you congratulations and greetings. I am very happy to join this distinguished gathering in paying tribute to the L.I.D. on its Fortieth Anniversary. In the life of any organization forty years of progress and activity is highly creditable; in the life of a left-wing organization, whose members are always prone to refined and subtle schisms, it is nothing short of miraculous. Such an example of consistency and unfailing purpose is a proof not only of the soundness of your methods but also of the vitality of the ideas which you are promoting.

I am happy also to bring you the good wishes of the sister movements in Canada which I have the honor to represent here tonight. The CCF, the new political party which is well on its way to becoming the government of Canada, and which already holds power in the Province of Saskatchewan, is the political expression in my country of the fundamental democratic principles which you espouse. It is determined to extend our democracy in the industrial and economic as well as in the political spheres, so as to build a truly "co-operative commonwealth," as we like to call it. The League for Social Reconstruction, which we founded in 1932, carried on precisely the work the L.I.D. is undertaking in the way of research and education for an increasing democracy. Therefore I feel that, although I had to cross a political boundary in coming to attend this dinner, I am still in the same ideological country, and from M. J. Coldwell, the CCF national leader, from T. C. Douglas, Premier of Saskatchewan, whose duties prevented his being here in person tonight, and from my other colleagues in the CCF, I bring you comradely greetings.

COMMON CAUSE OF LIBERALS OF CANADA AND U. S.

I know you want me to tell you something of the progress we have made in Canada in the past few years. Though our conditions and our organizations are not the same as yours, our *purpose* is, and therefore what we have done and intend to do cannot be without interest and perhaps may even be of value to liberal groups in the United States. From our point of view, of course, the strengthening

of your progressive forces is of paramount importance, for the pace of our evolution towards an industrial democracy will be very greatly affected by the speed with which you travel. We cannot forget that your industrialists have some four billion dollars invested in Canada. Our hopes rise when your liberalism is advancing, our hearts sink when you suffer a reverse. We are both engaged in a common struggle, the struggle which is one of the great adventures of our age, the struggle to convert a capitalism grown monopolistic and restrictive into a social and economic order in which the welfare, security and happiness of the common people are the first principles of national and international policy. In that common effort each of us is going to need the help of the other, and just as the trades unions have learned the value of international organization on this continent, so must our respective movements for social reconstruction.

WHAT IS THE C. C. F.?

It was just over a year ago that Mr. Coldwell spoke to a large gathering in this city under L.I.D. auspices, and told the story of the rise of the CCF. His address has since been published in the pamphlet, "Canadian Progressives on the March," and it is not necessary for me to repeat what many here have doubtless heard. I will do no more than remind you that in 1932 a number of Canadian farmer, labor and progressive groups, driven to bolder action by the hardships of the depression, joined together to launch a new national movement called the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, the CCF. The social pressures which in the United States produced a New Deal but no new party, in Canada produced a new party but no New Deal. The CCF is now a democratic mass-membership organization uniting farmer, labor and middle-class people under the same banner. It forms the government in one province, the official opposition in two others, and the most serious threat in the history of Canada to the reign of economic privilege maintained by the two old parties.

You may ask, what is the political cement which can hold these various groups together in the CCF? Have farmer and labor common economic interests? Is the fate of the professional and middle classes linked to that of the working class? We in the CCF say emphatically, Yes. Despite all superficial differences, despite short-run conflicts which the reactionary forces carefully cultivate in order to keep the people divided, the welfare of any one of these groups is the welfare of all, the misfortune of one is the misfortune of all. Through the CCF we are building a true sense of community among Canadians of all classes, races and creeds. And let me stress that we include within our appeal the technicians, managers and forward-looking business men whose skill and experience are essential to a planned economy, and many of whom are realizing that no future prosperity

can be found for themselves or their children under an economic system where the financial power of the few can destroy the security of the many.

DEMOCRATIC PLANNING FOR ABUNDANCE

These common interests in the great masses of our people are the basis for political unity. But beyond this there must also be the common understanding of the nature of the economic problem which we all have to face. Why have we so hard a struggle to enlarge our industrial democracy? Why has political democracy not proven sufficient? Surely because of the nature of modern capitalism. Surely because, as the CCF says in its Regina Manifesto, "Power has become more and more concentrated in the hands of a small irresponsible minority of financiers and industrialists and to their predatory interests the majority are habitually sacrificed." Surely because private profit, a valuable incentive when kept in its proper place, has been allowed to dictate the policies of large-scale enterprises on which the security of us all depends. And if we look more deeply into the root causes of this malady we cannot fail to see that what is called "private" property has been allowed to extend its sway into domains which are now of vital public concern. Hence a political program which aims to make the public interest the dominant motive in the economic process, which intends to place public welfare ahead of private profit, where necessary replacing private ownership by public or cooperative ownership and replacing unregulated competition by democratic economic planning for abundance, — such a program in these days can have and does have a wide appeal to all classes of people. Such is, in brief, the program of the CCF.

THE LEAGUE FOR SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION AND THE CCF

I think it is fair to say that we would not have had so much success in Canada had we not from the start combined education, research and study with our political activity. Our research body, the League for Social Reconstruction, was actually formed just before the CCF. We did not know at that time that a new party was going to be created, but we did know that a great deal of hard thinking was necessary if we were to discover the principles on which reconstruction should proceed, and the manner in which these principles should be applied to a country like Canada. As soon as the CCF was formed our LSR members almost all joined it as individuals, being convinced that it held out the hope of bringing about the changes we were seeking. While ideas and research may come from intellectuals, power must come from the masses. Thus the two organizations existed side by side but with overlapping membership. The alliance, though never formalized, was certainly most fruitful to the thinking of the academic group, and the LSR on its side was

able to contribute by its research and its writings to the working out of the CCF political program. At present the research work within the CCF has grown to such a point that the LSR has become dormant, its members being fully occupied by their activities in various CCF committees and conferences.

THE CCF AND DEMOCRACY

If there is one conclusion I would venture to draw from this experience it is that a democratic left-wing movement in North America, while it must be radical, should avoid a too doctrinaire approach to our economic problems. We in the CCF do not hesitate to call ourselves socialists, but we insist on defining for ourselves what we mean by that term. We refuse to follow slavishly any sect or school. There are certain forms of so-called philosophic socialism which we would reject. We insist most strongly on the democratic nature of our movement; we finance our own activities, choose our own leaders at regular conventions, and iron out our differences by free and frank discussion. We believe in the common people and in their capacity to find solutions for their economic problems through the democratic process. We share the ideals which inspire our sister movements in the other nations of the British Commonwealth, and in many other democratic countries. We believe that there is need for a revival of international cooperation among democratic socialist parties, for it is on the international plane that many of our common problems can alone find their solution today.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS IN SASKATCHEWAN

With the election of the first CCF government in Saskatchewan last June our movement passed from the realm of theory onto the testing-ground of practice. We are proud of what has been accomplished in the short space of six months. The Province of Saskatchewan is not a place where too much can be expected. Its economy is almost exclusively dependent on a single commodity, wheat, whose price is set outside the province. It has but limited powers under our federal constitution, and in wartime it is strictly limited in money and materials for new developments. Yet within four months the new CCF government had called the Legislature together and had enacted a large number of progressive measures. Among these is a Collective Bargaining Act giving, we think, the best protection to organized labor to be found on this Continent. A complete health service for Old Age Pensioners and their dependents, and for those receiving Mothers' Allowances, has been provided, and steps have been taken which will ultimately result in a complete system of socialized health services for all the people of Saskatchewan. Legislation to protect the farmer from eviction in case of crop failure has been passed. Teachers' salaries have been greatly increased, and

larger school districts are being organized over the whole province. A beginning has been made to plan the development of natural resources along socialist lines. There is a special Government Department now devoted to the cooperative movement, and Saskatchewan has the first Minister of Cooperatives in Canada. Our Saskatchewan comrades have already rendered a good account of themselves, and give you some idea of what may be expected of our movement when it comes to power, as I believe it eventually will, in the federal field in Canada.

May I conclude by wishing the L.I.D. all success in its next forty years. (*Applause.*)

INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRATIC LEADERSHIP IN BRITAIN TODAY

ARTHUR CREECH JONES, M.P.

*Member of the Executive, Parliamentary Labor Party
Chairman, Fabian Colonial Bureau*

Former National Secretary, Transport and General Workers Union

I AM honored at the privilege of speaking to the League for Industrial Democracy tonight and of extending to it and its Executive Director the very warmest greetings of the British Labor Movement and the Fabian Society. I wish to join with others here in the general congratulations to the movement and its Director on the thoroughgoing work over the years which they have done in behalf of the ideas and the ideals embodied in the League's declaration of purpose. And I would like to express the hope that that work may continue in the future in greater volume and that the League's influence may be ever more widely felt in the social, economic and political life of the country.

SOCIAL TRENDS IN BRITAIN

I have been asked to say something about social and economic tendencies in Britain and whether by country is moving toward genuine democracy in politics and in industry. I may be forgiven if I follow the wise remark of the late Justice Holmes of your Supreme Court who said that "the vindication of the obvious is often more important than the elucidation of the obscure." Since I have been in America in recent weeks, I have heard many words of curious political and economic concepts in popular use. "Free enterprise" and "American individualism" are suggested as desirables to retain and are employed as warnings against the servile state and forms of collectivism which, it is sometimes thought, we in Britain are heading for.

The truth is that our modern complex societies exhibit a variety of practices in the economic and social fields which no label adequately describes. Britain is, I suppose, a capitalist country, but, in spite of its respect for tradition and the trappings of earlier days which decorate our social life, it has developed a high degree of community action and has built up an enormous amount of public

enterprise, while maintaining an expanding field for private action. Its political practice is democratic and I doubt if its people have ever enjoyed greater freedom. Perhaps we are less conscious of the conflicts and cleavages of our social and economic life in Britain than you are conscious of like divergences in America — wealth parades itself less in Britain, political battles are less bitter and industrial struggle is less harsh. There is at home, of course, a struggle for political power, but that struggle, even when it results from economic discord, is determined usually within the traditional constitutional political practices of the nation.

To appreciate further the situation in Britain, may I emphasize the obvious differences that exist between us. Britain is compact, mainly industrial, her resources are limited, her people homogeneous, her problems manageable. Her roots go deep into a long settled country and her industrial and political traditions are well established. Political development has been continuous. There have been resistance and struggle, but growth and increasingly wider-based responsibility have resulted. The State has assumed an ever greater responsibility in respect to social organization and standards. Political institutions for the better and proper functioning of democracy have been developed as social reforms have been conceded. The purpose and functions of government have been enlarged and adjusted. Meantime, sharp class conflicts have been modified — in industry and politics — while many of the excesses and abuses of capitalism have been curbed and private enterprise, in trying to adjust itself to new conditions, has often taken on new forms. The seeds inherent in the British nation have grown and imperceptibly changed many of the characteristics of that society. It is, I believe, a more liberal country than that often conjured up by many American liberals I know after hearing Mr. Winston Churchill speak.

The point I would emphasize about British development is that, as democracy has become more real and democratic institutions more efficient, so has government adjusted social relations, tried to distribute national income more fairly, carried through reforms in the field of community services and social security, and assumed a deeper interest in industrial and economic life. I know that the citadel of capitalism is still strongly buttressed and that it will be a formidable power to reduce, but I want to make the point that modifications have been enforced on capitalism, that controls have been placed on the enterprise and initiative of capital, that great services have become publicly regulated and that much public enterprise has been established.

I may be reminded that there is no guarantee that this development may not end in the servitude of the masses to big economic power or that it is impossible for reactionary elements to push Britain into totalitarianism whether of the Nazi or Fascist or even

of the communist brand. The virility of British democracy gives no evidence of that as yet and while economic tendencies may end in the creation of powerful economic groups which may exercise considerable influence over political and social life, there is no indication that political power will not be strong enough to control any possible extravagance of such economic interests. It is one of the characteristic features of the political and industrial scene in Britain that a strong workers' party has been created which links the political left with organized trade unionism and the great cooperative movement and which is the alternative government to those political parties which accept the structure of society, in its essentials, as it now is. It is a party with a socialist objective, its outlook is social and broader than that of class; it has gained in experience and responsibility and it is, in approach and outlook, characteristic of the British political tradition.

British Labor's Road to Power

We anticipate before very long that our movement will be in power and it is then our firm intention to carry through the program and policy which has built up the movement and which has won for it the good will and the adherence of the great masses of the people of Great Britain. We believe that the time will not be very far after making of peace in Europe that that will come about. Anyway, the movement is preparing for this great opportunity.

Nor do I think that the realization of the program of British labor is likely to be prevented by economic interests or totalitarian movements of the extreme right or left. The achievement of that policy may be frustrated by the condition of Europe after the war. Britain is part of Europe and it is never unaffected by movements of thought and events on the continent. In Europe the whole fabric of civilized life has to be rebuilt amidst infinite chaos, misery, hatred, inexperience and disillusionment. The workers' movements, democracy itself, the free and voluntary organizations, have all to be recreated in conditions of extreme difficulty. Economic life has to be set going. In the wretched prospects ahead, he would be a bold man who could foresee the forces released by war and its aftermath. The influence of post-war Europe will be felt in Britain — the ebb and flow of events will mark our social and economic life. It is a possibility which cannot be overlooked any more than can the influence which will be exercised by the returning service men and women and the transformation of industry to peace purposes. Apart from such speculations, I believe Britain will be more radical in its demand for increased social provision of all kinds, for social security and greater equality, for more control over strong financial and capitalist interests, for some kind of economic planning, and for

an extension of public ownership in certain fundamental services and industry in our economic life.

I mentioned that the Labor movement walked on two legs — the political and industrial. The importance of this lies in the fact that British political tradition implies that economic arrangements must be subordinated to political decision; that economic forces can be directed to social ends and that by political action there can be planned life. The purpose of the Labor party is to achieve power to carry through a socialist program. For the reasons I have already advanced, that program would perhaps be checked by the forces of reaction, by the powerful interests which may oppose it, but with a Britain moving to social democracy and a strong independent political party of the workers and progressives, I doubt if such resistance would be outside the traditional political practices to which I have already referred.

Britain moves to a wide extension of public control and ownership. In that it has been assisted by the experience of war. There has been a wide expansion of government factories in the war, gigantic State trading in foodsuffs and raw materials, a great deal of unification for practical purposes of railways and transport, power, shipping, mining and other services, and a broad adoption of government regulation of industry and finance to secure public aid. The Labor Party proposes to socialize land, transport, power and mining, and to enforce certain reforms in a number of industries.

Labor's Conception of Socialization

It is important that I should state that, to many of us in Britain, nationalization or socialization of service or industry does not mean the creation of a state bureaucracy controlling employees reduced to the state of robots. The old conception of a State Department, being an industry with a Minister answerable to Parliament and with politicians able to interfere with the day to day management, is utterly discredited. There are many ways of governing an industry, and the structure that may be adopted for a public industry or service can be as varied. In Britain there are already many ways of controlling and directing a publicly owned service. They may be controlled by Boards purely representative in their character, or by Boards answerable to a Minister, free within the broad terms of the charter given the industry in its statute. We have bodies as widely different in structure as the British Broadcasting Corporation (B.B.C.), the National Planning Board, the Electricity Commission, the Port of London Authority, and many other agencies. These structures can be formed so as to be answerable to public criticism, and to permit of representation, in an advisory or executive way, as circumstance may require in the interests of the State, of the consumer or of the producer. Much has been written on this,

so I will say no more about it. What I want also to make clear is that the public must be able to deal with any situation created by big economic interests — whenever they may try to dominate a society or be a menace to the public or attempt to exploit it or behave in any anti-social way. These situations in the long run must be dealt with by public control and ownership.

Government of industry by the public offers many flexible forms in which all interests can be balanced or safeguarded. The days have gone when some kind of syndicalism or guild socialism is acceptable to many thinking trade unionists and socialists. To some extent the movement for workers' producers' control in industry has spent itself. It has left its mark in the declared objectives of important trade unions and other organizations, or it has been worked out in the schemes and proposals for socializing industry which the Trade Union Congress or the Labor party has made public from time to time. Only as recently as the last Trades Union Congress, the whole subject was discussed in the General Committee's report to the Congress and both in principle and in practice it was recognized that producers, as producers, out of their knowledge and experience of the industry, had important contributions to make for the consideration of those responsible for policy. The values of this agitation of the last three years or more has been that it has helped to direct the minds of socialists away from the old rigid and bureaucratic form of state socialism to more flexible and human ways of securing the government of public service industries. It has emphasized the interest of producer and consumer and thereby made a great impact on socialist thought in regard to the problem of structure and government of industry. There is no likelihood of the Labor party's implementing its policy of socialism in terms of stern bureaucracy: it may not concede what was formerly called workers' control as a complete and active principle. That would be syndicalism, though facilities will be created for greater freedom and consultation of the workers in the running of industry.

Advance of Industrial Democracy

Again industrial democracy, as you, I imagine, use the word or the Webbs use it, has grown in prestige and authority by the recognition it has won in this war. The government has consulted the unions in the shaping of industrial policy and as innovations in the industrial life of the nation have been called for. On all important committees the unions have been represented and they have played a conspicuous part.

In connection with the problems of production, discipline and working conditions, the representatives of the workers have been recognized as competent to carry important responsibilities. That

experience has not been wasted. It will be incorporated in the permanent structure of industry in Britain. Workers should function not only in the economic activities of the state but should have a voice in the workings of industry as a result of their experience and their knowledge of industry. They should make a contribution to the wiser planning, the better organization of the basic economic activities which form the basic life of the community.

Enlargement of Freedom

I do not conceive that our freedoms are impinged on by the developments I have mentioned. It has in fact enhanced our freedom by restraining the powerful who would violate our freedom. Big business shows little regard for the small entrepreneur. In any case, today, private enterprise is doing its utmost to destroy other private enterprise. When in difficulty, it does not hesitate to clamor for and accept what assistance the government can offer. In fact, its weakness is often its repeated demand that the State should come to its rescue by tariffs, restrictions, subsidies and the rest. At the same time, there is no evidence that when the Government has gone a long way in public control and ownership that the field of free enterprise, private initiative and creative work is any the less. Our wants increase in an expanding society as our standards of living rise, as science and invention open on new frontiers and government policy is expressed by the inadequate term "full employment."

Imperialism Must Go

There is only another word I want to say about British democracy in the economic field. Here in America I hear a great deal about British imperialism. I do what I can in Parliament to control and sap it. There is a degree of economic imperialism overseas which is not limited only to dependent or colonial territories. Wealth which ought to be used for the enrichment of territories is enjoyed by interests elsewhere and the profits are not available for further capital development or improving the social life or increasing the prosperity of the people concerned. Too scant attention is often given to the labor conditions or to the social effects of such exploitation. Neither British standards nor yours ought to depend on such a system. I am glad to say that we are curbing the power of national capital in our British colonies and many labor reforms and sound economic schemes have in recent years been implemented in British colonies. There can be no solution to exploitation of subject peoples until the old system of economic domination as well as political domination is destroyed. British liberal opinion is working to that end.

I conclude my remarks on the progress of social democracy and socialism in Britain by adding that, maybe, the once clearcut conceptions of socialism, in the light of experience and development of

British life are just a little blurred, but the broad line of advance is clear. Community control increases opportunities for the free life of the common man. In Britain, socialism has never been theoretical or Marxian: its conception of politics has always been pragmatic and non-doctrinaire: its approach, humanistic and practical. The path Labor has taken has widened the real freedom of the masses — not restricted it. There is every reason to hope that, before long, after the coming of peace in Europe, British Labor will be given its opportunity. I am certain it will carry forward the constructive economic work set out in its program in furtherance of public welfare as against the claims of private interest. Labor cherishes freedom too much to sacrifice it to some great Moloch of the State. It will, I believe, offer hope and encouragement to the progressive forces in all lands. I hope its inspiration to liberal forces will be no less than the impetus given to the dispossessed and underprivileged when Russia achieved her revolution. I hope the L.I.D. will influence the political and economic thought of America until your ideas and policy become the practice of your great country. And I hope that, in the social, economic and political life of America, the ideas and ideals which you of the League stand for will find effective expression and that America will march forward in the van of industrial democracy, we in Britain, perhaps, toddling a little behind, conscious of your great strength, but knowing that you, by your example, will lead us to the promised land.* (Applause.)

LABOR, PUBLIC RELATIONS AND THE L.I.D.

JULIUS HOCHMAN

Manager, Joint Board, Dressmakers' Unions; Vice-President, I.L.G.W.U.

MR. STARR: For years the L.I.D. has been emphasizing the tremendous need of a strong and vigorous trade union movement as one of the important roads to industrial democracy. One of the heartening things about the work of the League during the last few years has been its close relationship with the progressive unions, particularly in this city. We have here today a vice-president of one of the great unions of the country, who has followed the League's work for many years, and has been continually emphasizing the vital need of labor's public relations, with a view of strengthening the forces of democracy and social progress. I have the pleasure of introducing Julius Hochman, Vice-President of the I.L.G.W.U.

*The limitation of time at the dinner unfortunately prevented Mr. Jones from delivering his fully prepared address.

MR. JULIUS HOCHMAN

Trade unionism and democracy belong together; one presupposes the other. Under modern industrial conditions, no genuine democratic order is possible without full freedom of labor organization and collective bargaining. Without the balancing force of effective labor organization, modern society would degenerate into an industrial feudalism in which concentrated economic power would reign unchecked. On the other hand, trade unionism needs democracy; under no other social order could it enjoy the freedom and self-determination necessary for its life and development.

THE CHALLENGE BEFORE LABOR

Today organized labor faces the crucial problem of winning a secure place for itself in our democratic way of life. The American labor movement has made immense progress in the past twelve years of peace and war. In total membership, in the spread of collective bargaining, in strategic influence in the basic industries, trade unionism is today at the very height of its power. But every thoughtful observer who thinks back to what happened during and immediately after the first world war knows that labor's present position is by no means secure. The post-war period will almost certainly witness concerted attempts on the part of hostile elements to drive the labor movement from the positions it has gained and to reduce it to impotence. Preparations for such a post-war anti-labor offensive are now being carefully laid and a major aspect of these preparations is the poisoning of the public mind against labor and all its works. The open shippers of the National Manufacturers Association know very well that in this country public opinion is the ultimate power and that whoever has public opinion on his side has won half the battle.

NEEDED: PUBLIC UNDERSTANDING OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT

For labor this situation presents a problem of the first importance—the problem of winning understanding and acceptance in the public mind. It is not a new problem although its urgency has been accentuated by the war. Over three years ago, in November 1941, before even the United States entered the war, I called attention to it at a conference on labor education. Since then the matter has been brought before successive conventions of the American Federation of Labor and some steps in the right direction have been taken. But the job still remains to be done and it is a big and long-range job. It is a job that we will be able to look upon as finally accomplished only when trade unionism in this country is fully accepted by the public as a great American institution, as one of the great permanent pillars of our democratic way of life.

This is a job of public relations in the broad social sense of the term. It implies the integration of labor in community life and the close and continuing cooperation of the labor movement with other sections of the American people. It implies that labor will use its newly won power responsibly and wisely, subordinating any narrow special interests to the general welfare. To put it plainly, if labor wants the support of the public, it must be ready to give its support to the public—to the farmers, small business men, professionals, the middle class generally—in a joint effort to meet the great social issues of the day.

THE ROLE OF THE L.I.D.

Through the forty years of its existence the League for Industrial Democracy has contributed materially to creating a better understanding of labor's aims and ideals among important sections of the American people, particularly the youth. We of the labor movement are grateful for the fine job you have done and we welcome your continued assistance and cooperation in the future. (*Applause.*)

MR. STARR: Thank you, Brother Hochman. Julius Hochman represents one of the outstanding unions in the A. F. of L. Among the scheduled speakers tonight was a prominent representative of a progressive C.I.O. union, George Baldanzi, Executive Vice-President of the Textile Workers Union of America. Unfortunately Mr. Baldanzi was called out of town at the last moment and was unable to be present tonight. He sends his sincere regrets.

WORLD WAR VETERANS: THE NEED FOR LEAGUE COOPERATION

CHARLES G. BOLTE

Chairman, American Veterans Committee

MR. STARR. One of the biggest problems before the American people at the present time, a problem the solution of which greatly affects the movement for industrial democracy, is what will be the status of the returned veterans. Few men have given keener attention to this than has Lieutenant Charles G. Bolte, Chairman of the American Veterans Committee and the military expert for the *Nation*. Lieutenant Bolte, among the large number of men wounded in the war, is continuing the battle for democracy by helping to prepare the veterans and America to solve the difficult problems with which it will be con-

fronted in the postwar days. I have the pleasure to present Mr. Bolte.

LIEUT. CHARLES G. BOLTE

Thank you, Mr. Starr. Ladies and gentlemen, I am embarrassed. I feel like a newborn babe. I have no past in the L.I.D. at all but I do want to bring you greetings from the American Veterans Committee, which is very new and which is looking ahead to the next 40 years, which is what I hope and feel sure you are all doing tonight.

I should like to underline especially from my point of view as a veteran what Mr. Hochman said earlier, that there is a big fight ahead. I feel that very strongly tonight because I have just come back from Detroit where I spent two days which makes me an expert and I am scared.

I spent most of the two days at one of the greatest industrial concentrations in the United States, one of the greatest in the world, looking at what modern machinery can do in the production of the weapons of war. I watched the assembly line production of bombers which cost \$350,000 each and saw them come off the line now at the rate of only twelve a day because they have cut production back so far.

The night between those two days I spent in Detroit with some labor people.

The feeling I brought out of that experience was that if a civil war ever comes in America it is likely to start in Detroit because of the completely intransient attitude of both groups out there. The entire lack of a sense of accommodation or of compromise, the conviction that there is going to be a bloody fight as soon as the end of the Japanese war comes when the uneasy truce is over.

Veterans have a most vital stake in that whole picture because, if that fight occurs, they are going to be caught in the middle and I don't think it will come as any surprise to you to know that they shape up very largely in the plans of at least one of those groups. I don't think it is necessary to say which one, a group which, I think, by and large, subconsciously or consciously hope to see veterans break labor unions.

The American Veterans Committee, the L.I.D. and organizations similar to them have a tremendous job to do in industrial education and in industrial democracy to see that that tragedy does not happen.

The A.V.C. is an organization formed to be a tool, a tool to be used by the men who have fought this war in the fight for peace, jobs and freedom; in the achievement of a more democratic and prosperous America and a more stable world. I think I can assure you now that the men who are fighting overseas will use that tool when they come home and will continue to fight for those things. I hope we can all fight together. (*Applause.*)

A WORD FROM THE CITY GOVERNMENT

HON. NEWBOLD MORRIS
President, New York City Council

MR. STARR: The League for Industrial Democracy collectively and its officers individually have been interested for years in clean and progressive government as a vital step toward total democracy. It is fitting, at this Fortieth Anniversary Celebration of the League, to have a word of greeting from the President of the New York City Council, and a friend of the League, the Hon. Newbold Morris.

HON. NEWBOLD MORRIS

Mr. Learned Toastmaster. And I say "learned", because you are a scholar; Harry Laidler, members of the Board and friends of the L.I.D.:

I came here partly because of my friendship for my former colleague, Harry Laidler, and partly to congratulate the organization upon forty years of accomplishment. I think that we have been told before, so I think it's a little trite, that "Life begins at 40." But 40 years, which is the span of the life of the League to date, just about tells the story of organized labor in the United States as it has moved out of adolescence into full majority.

We suddenly woke up one bright morning and found out that almost everybody in the United States had to work for a living and that people who had been running the country were those who, for one reason or another, were of the opinion that the United States was to be maintained for a very special privileged few.

Labels do not mean as much as they used to. It's awfully hard to figure out, when you enroll in one of the two major parties, why you do it. At one time the Republican party was the party of centralized government and believed that, because of progress, because of the rapidity of communications, the arbitrary state boundary lines didn't mean so much. The Democratic party, on the other hand, was the valiant defender of state's rights. Then, for some reason or other, the roles shifted and the Democratic party became the party of centralization, while the Republican party became the valiant defender of state's rights. Today we find Republicans who believe in free trade and Democrats who vote for high protective tariffs; Democrats who believe in isolationism and Republicans who believe in world cooperation and United States participation in a post-war world. So it's awfully hard to pin a label on a man.

Norman Thomas is a Socialist. Yet I don't believe that there are very many principles which would remove Norman Thomas

from a liberal in any party and I suppose he chose the hard way. I am just taking him as an example. I suppose he is the most glowing example and he chose the hard way. He might have climbed the ladder by enrolling in either one of the major parties and going from Alderman to Sheriff, to Borough President, to Congressman, to United States Senator and so on all the way up. And then he might have ended as a member of the United States Supreme Court, if he had done what he was told, or he might have even been President of the United States, because certainly he had the qualifications to do so. (*Applause.*)

There are a lot of others around here who have chosen the hard way and I admire them for it. They have taken a lot of abuse. I have seen Louis Goldberg, another former colleague, take abuse. I have read how Judge Panken took abuse before he went on the bench and I see a lot of others here who have chosen the hard way.

Well, Harry, to you and your colleagues I want to offer congratulations, because I admire fortitude in whatever form it takes. And to you who have influence in these United States it must be a source of gratification to know that many things that the L.I.D. fought for 40 years ago and all through those difficult years are now the law of the land and have been written into the Constitution of the State of New York.

I go back to the words of Oliver Wendell Holmes, words which must ring in your ears on an occasion like this: "You have labored sometimes in darkness and alone and then, suddenly, years afterwards, you find men moving to the measure of your thought and you experience that subtle rapture of a postponed power." (*Applause.*)

THE L.I.D.: AN INSPIRER OF YOUTH

THERESA WOLFSON

Associate Professor of Economics, Brooklyn College

MR. STARR: Harry Laidler has called attention to the educational character of the League. From the very beginning, it has heavily depended on the cooperation of both students and members of college and school faculties. I am going to call on a noted labor economist, member of the L.I.D. Board of Directors, who was an active spirit in the I.S.S. in her student days, for a brief message. Theresa Wolfson, of Brooklyn College:

DR. THERESA WOLFSON

I shall limit my remarks to a tribute to a few of the outstanding personalities who, through their personal integrity, courage and vision, made the League for Industrial Democracy a symbol in American culture. Years ago I was a student of Dr. Jessie Wallace Hughan in one of the city's high schools. English in her class was not just a presentation of nouns and verbs. It was a vital discussion of economic and social topics in which a command of English became a useful tool for the expression of ideas. She was my first contact with the Intercollegiate Socialist Society.

Several years later I joined this organization on our college campus. We were in the first World War, and it was only at the meetings and discussion groups conducted by the I.S.S. that the college student was able to analyze the war objectively and to study its economic and social implications. During those days of hysteria and "red baiting", it was the courage and inspiration we received from Harry Laidler and Norman Thomas that helped us dedicate ourselves to the pursuit of truth in a world of prejudice and propaganda. It was not easy; members of the I.S.S. in large and small colleges were marked both by the world-at-large and by their own concern with economic democracy as a way of life. It is no accident that some of the well-known leaders in the struggle for industrial democracy today evolved out of the L.I.D. organizations on the college campuses of yesterday—Freda Kirchwey, Stephen and Carl Raushenbush, Abraham Epstein, Dave Saposs, Paul Porter, Monroe Sweetland—and a long roster of names which we have not the time to list.

We have travelled through the cycle of prosperity, depression, and war once again. The L.I.D. still carries the torch for industrial democracy. Often the light was dimmed, sometimes it was snatched away by organizations primarily dedicated to political battles over which all too frequently student members had little control. Some of us have at times felt that perhaps organizations like the L.I.D. have outlived their day—particularly when mass movements have sprung up for a day or a year to carry the torch!

But the democratic organization and operation of the institutions of production and distribution has not yet been achieved and, until we have realized economic and political democracy, there is a job for the L.I.D. to perform! (*Applause.*)

THE L.I.D. AND STRAIGHT THINKING

NORMAN THOMAS

Chairman, Postwar World Council; Socialist Leader

MR. STARR: From 1922 to the late thirties, the next speaker

served as co-Executive Director of the League with Harry Laidler. In that capacity he spoke before college and civic groups in all parts of the country and brought the message of the cooperative social order to hundreds of thousands of the country's youth—Norman Thomas.

MR. NORMAN THOMAS

Mr. Chairman and friends. I am very glad that, after so many words have been spoken, I still have a chance to make the obvious quotation that has not yet been made before. It is truer of the L.I.D. than it is of most institutions that it's the length and shadow of a man and that the man is Harry W. Laidler. (*Applause.*)

I wish that there were time to reminisce, because there are a great many interesting reminiscences that might be in order. There isn't the need and certainly there isn't the time to call the roll of people who have worked in the L.I.D.

I wish there were time to talk about the very great change in the political, economic and social atmosphere since the days when the L.I.D. was formed. I think there may be time to say this, that there seemed to us in those earlier days a clarity, a simplicity of issues, that is now very much lacking. I am interested in that and I want to say something that is easy to misunderstand but which I do not want misunderstood.

The whole function of the L.I.D. has been in its capacity to do jobs that were not being done and to do them to help basic organizations, without becoming a basic organization like a political party or a union or a consumer's cooperative. Adaptability has been one of its virtues. The League still needs that type of thought. And one of its functions ought to be to clarify thinking, not by imposing creeds among honest men but by encouraging discussion on terms that make words mean something.

Let me illustrate. We had a conference not so long ago which was honored by the presence of Walter Nash. He made a long and good socialist speech and his emphasis was on socialism. The people at the conference duly applauded. They applauded not merely by virtue of the fact that he was a good speaker, and he was good. They applauded his ideas as well. Then some of them went to hear Thurman Arnold, who was also a good speaker. Mr. Arnold launched into a discussion of cartels as the root of all evil. He said about them all that Marx said and he added more.

It so happens that I don't love cartels but frankly I think that that speech of Thurman Arnold was an addition to the folklore of the capitalist. Maybe he was right and I was wrong. But it gets me awfully mixed up to see some of my old socialist friends seemingly approving Judge Arnold's analysis.

And there are those who say that the road to salvation is through Henry Wallace's definition of free enterprise with the government taking up the slack. I like some of the things Mr. Wallace means to do, but he says that what he is doing is to block socialism. Maybe he is right and maybe we have always been wrong, but let us know what we are talking about and let us use words rather intelligently.

I was very much interested when my Liberal party friends gave a big party to Henry Wallace at which he said it's useless to form a new party. That mixes me up. And at this dinner we have a C.C.F. leader whom we applaud, while at the same time applauding the point of view on political action of Upton Sinclair.

We owe a lot to Upton Sinclair and we will owe a lot more to him in the future. But in the interest of history the only time I recall that Upton Sinclair ran on the Socialist ticket for Governor in the State of California he said we could have his name but that he was too busy to speak. But when he ran for the Democratic ticket, how he worked! Besides, he did not reform the Democratic party in California. Maybe he almost did, but he didn't.

Now, am I trying to say that these people are all wrong and that I am right? No. What I am trying to say is that it's time and long past time for Americans to use words in such a way that they mean something and to think straight. We can make changes in our definitions but at least we ought to know that we change the meaning of these words and that they are not the same thing. We can't say that 30 years ago we voted for Debs and now that we vote for Roosevelt it's the same thing.

We are not going to advance much until we do straighter thinking.

I do not know of any organization that by its record and by its high purpose is better suited to promote straight thinking than is the L.I.D. Speaking more or less as an observer, I believe that everybody should be in the League who believes that it is possible to use machinery in the service of men for security and freedom instead of using machinery only for great production and war. But members should know when they differ what they differ about and talk out their differences in terms that make sense. (*Applause.*)

THE LEAGUE AND THE PIONEERING SPIRIT

JOHN L. CHILDS

*Professor of Philosophy of Education, Teachers College, Columbia;
Chairman, Liberal Party.*

MR. STARR: Another well known educator who has refused to be an "ivory tower" philosopher, who has carried the demo-



eratic educational process into the trade union and political arena, and has, incidentally, been long a friend and a former member of the Board of Directors of the L.I.D., is the next speaker, Dr. John L. Childs. Dr. Childs:

DR. JOHN L. CHILDS

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Laidler and friends. I suppose, after Norman Thomas' statement, I ought to say a word. I think the Liberal party has a certain amount of strength and can do certain things but when Mr. Thomas says that the Liberal party adds to the confusion of his mind I think he over-estimated it. (*Laughter.*)

However, I want to say that that isn't said with too much seriousness.

I would like to state, however, that the Liberal party is quite convinced that if we are to have a realignment in American politics we will have to bring into the new party many people who are not now in that party and we also believe that many of our choices, very important crucial choices, are not between black and white alternatives but between the better and worse. We think the choice between Henry Wallace and Jesse Jones is a very significant, far-reaching choice and we are very glad to do all we can to help make that choice. (*Applause.*)

I remember my first official act on behalf of the organization whose 40th birthday we are celebrating tonight.

It happened just at the close of the first decade of this century. I was an undergraduate at the University of Wisconsin, president of the student Y.M.C.A. At that time our building was the Student Activities Building of that campus and we had a chapter of the great Intercollegiate Socialist Society, predecessor of the L.I.D.

Down through the years, as I think of it, the L.I.D. believed in not only talking about civil liberties and eulogizing them but in exercising them. So this group on our campus invited Eugene Debs to come to the University of Wisconsin and they got the gymnasium. Gradually this fact became known over the state.

When it was found out that the Intercollegiate Socialist Society chapter met in the red room of the Y.M.C.A. some people began to bring pressure on us and the question was whether we were going to be allowed, as a "subversive" organization, to meet on that campus.

We fellow students had men like David Saposs. We had William Leiserson—we called him "Billy" Leiserson. We had Edwin Witte. We had Carl Haessler and "Bud" Matthews and Selig Perlman all in that Intercollegiate Socialist Society and we had a university that had as its President Charles Richard Van Hise who was writing at that time about concentration and control of the natural resources

and water-power of the country. We had John R. Commons and Edward Ross, now Chairman of the Civil Liberties Union there, and Charles McCarthy—not the Edgar Bergen McCarthy—who started the National Reference Library. And we also had the elder Bob LaFollette of the United States Senate and Francis E. McGovern.

The socialists were just winning power in Milwaukee. I remember writing an article for *Collier's* about the triumph of the socialists in Milwaukee and getting my first check from a magazine for it. We didn't have much trouble at the University, especially after the Catholic Chaplain and the Jewish leaders supported the right of free speech and assembly.

One of the great sins of any progressive group is to forget the purposes for which it is called into being; to become a predatory organization and to exist as an end in itself and for itself. I think that, better than most organizations that I know, the League for Industrial Democracy has never felt impelled to redouble its budget and double its staff for the purpose of carrying out activities alien to its original purpose. To combine scholarship, experimental efforts, precision of scientific research and democratic participation and control with bold cultural action is not an easy thing to achieve.

I think we love Harry Laidler because he has been able in his person and in his organization to make that combination. (*Applause.*)

THE LEAGUE AND THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS

HARRY A. OVERSTREET
Philosopher; Educator

MR. STARR: The next speaker, who is becoming younger every year—noted philosopher and educator, social scientist, author and lecturer—has closely followed the League's work since he came to this city as a Professor of Philosophy of the College of the City of New York over a generation ago. Professor Overstreet needs no introduction to this audience. Professor Overstreet.

DR. HARRY A. OVERSTREET

Ladies and gentlemen, all the distinguished people, members of the Board, the President that ought to be, Norman Thomas, over there: I would like very quickly to congratulate the L.I.D. upon being 40 years sound. The League has been unswervingly sound. You may remember what Upton Sinclair said about what President Roosevelt said to him. He said, "I cannot go any faster than the people will let me."

The policy of the League has been to get the people to think so that they will know how to listen and having known how to think and how to listen, to get busy doing the things that need to be done.

I think that it's a grand thing to say about the L.I.D. and I look with very great affection upon my dear friend, Harry Laidler, and feel that he has been part of the unswervingness of the League in holding to that educational process. (*Applause.*)

I want also to extend my very great gratitude because, for many years, as your Chairman has said, I have lived in darkest America. I have been a college professor and one of the grand things that Harry Laidler and the League and all the great people in the League have done has been to bring light to the colleges.

The colleges of the older days, 40 years ago, were so apathetic, so ignorant, so out of touch with reality that they just didn't know the facts of life. I can remember the time when this organization was just starting meeting with a number of teachers of the University of California, very apprehensively and timidly making an effort to study this terrible thing called socialism.

We studied socialism and we didn't want anybody to know we were doing it. And out here your League started the process of getting college people to think about the things that need to be thought of.

Particularly, I want to say in closing that the two great things the League has pioneered for in America have been the idea that democracy is something more than political in its nature; that it's industrial and cultural. And the League has also brought Americans to begin to think that production should actually be conducted for human use and not merely for human profit. If it had done nothing more than to domesticate those two ideas and to have stimulated thinking in the colleges, its name should be blessed. (*Applause.*)

CONSUMERS' COOPERATION AND THE L.I.D.

WALLACE J. CAMPBELL

Assistant Secretary, Cooperative League, U.S.A.

MR. STARR: One of the fields in which the League has been tremendously interested is in the field of consumers' cooperation. We are proud of the work of a former student officer of the University of Oregon Chapter of the League in that field, Wallace J. Campbell, Assistant Secretary of the Cooperative League, U.S.A. Mr. Campbell.

MR. WALLACE J. CAMPBELL

Mark Starr, I told you that I am too young to reminisce but I do want to say that Harry Laidler made a trip to the West Coast and two of us from the University of Oregon picked him up in an old 1927 Whippet at Salem, Oregon, and drove him down through a driving rain to Eugene, Oregon. That night he organized the L.I.D. chapter at the University of Oregon.

I am very greatly indebted to Dr. Laidler, as it is through his influence that I came East.

The L.I.D. is a fellowship that not only extends through America, England and Canada, but throughout all other parts. It is important because its work is a diamond of many facets and that's one of the reasons why the League's program is a sound one, as Dr. Overstreet has pointed out.

Its interests and its educational program have been manifold. Housing, social security, medical care, power, transportation, the labor movement and labor relations, consumer cooperation, municipal, state and federal government—all these and more have been subjects for research and education. Education in this instance was a form of education designed for *action*. And the long history of social progress will find chiseled into its column of achievements many ideas and reforms born of the L.I.D.

Tonight I want to talk particularly of one of these facets.

In the days when most liberal groups completely ignored the organization of consumers for cooperative action, or looked upon consumer cooperation as a futile gesture by those who "wanted to play store," the League for Industrial Democracy was conscious of its vitality. Early in 1914 Harry Laidler studied the cooperatives in England and Scotland and wrote a pamphlet on Consumer Cooperation in Great Britain. In his many books and general pamphlets published since that time, he carried forward the appeal for action. His was a three-fold appeal, for organization "as producers in labor unions, as consumers in cooperatives and as citizens in political parties devoted to production for use and not for profit."

As the L.I.D. celebrates its 40th Anniversary, the consumer cooperative movement completes its first hundred years of successful operation. Today, the co-ops are a major factor in the economies of a score of countries abroad. In the U. S. 2½ million families do nearly a billion dollars business a year through consumer cooperatives. They have become so strong in certain sections of the United States that selfish private profit interests have launched a crusade against them.

Today the cooperative movement has grown to the place where it's an economic factor.

It has broken the commercial fertilizer trust in the United States. It has had a skirmish with the Standard Oil Company and has beaten it and now our tannery refineries will have skirmishes with big business.

The cooperatives have competed cheek with jowl with the Safeway and the A. & P. We have a big battle ahead of us in the next 40 years, one in which we will need all the friends that we have got and I think you folks are not only friends but most of you are members of cooperatives. You ought to know that the next 40 years are going to be the toughest.

From the cooperative movement which was 100 years old in its British and Scandinavian aspects just a month ago, I want to bring greetings to what I should call the younger brother, the L.I.D., which is 40 years old. And for education in the basic precepts of cooperation, I want to pay tribute to the foresight of the L.I.D. and to wish it a happy fortieth birthday—and many of them. (*Applause.*)

"YOUR FAITH HAS KEPT YOU YOUNG"

ALGERON LEE

*President, Rand School of Social Science
Chairman, Social Democratic Federation*

MR. STARR: When the old I.S.S. was in its infancy, it occupied desk space in the Rand School of Social Science at 112 East 19th Street. Algernon Lee, head of the school, became, by virtue of that position, the secretary of the I.S.S. for a year or two, succeeding W. J. Ghent. Since those days, Mr. Lee, President of the Rand School of Social Science and Chairman of the Social Democratic Federation, has followed the work of the I.S.S. and the L.I.D. with keen interest. Mr. Lee.

MR. ALGERNON LEE

Sitting here on the dais and listening with interest to the remarks of the speakers who have preceded me, with another part of my brain I found interest also in looking out over the audience. Two things impressed me.

First, it was gratifying to see so many more young faces than are usually to be seen in such gatherings as this in these days of military service, of war work, and of overtime employment. Certainly a great many of you were not yet born when the L.I.D. (the I.S.S., as it was then called) came into existence—and from my point of view, to be under forty is to be enviably young—and a very good proportion are still in their thirties or even their twenties.

At the same time it was a glad surprise to see in all parts of the hall men and women whom I knew as members of this society when it was just being launched or who joined it within the first five or six years. Simple arithmetic tells us the lower limit of their ages, but their faces contradict arithmetic. They are not weary and listless. Their lips still smile. Their eyes still look out bravely at a world full of grief and terror—look confidently through the darkness to a light beyond.

I am convinced that the best preventive of senility is not to be found in prescribed diet or vitamins, but in a manly and womanly attitude toward life. You contemporaries of mine long ago resolved not to live unto yourselves alone. You have steadily tried to understand the world and to make it better. You have kept the faith, and your faith has kept you young.

That combination in this audience of those who are young in years and those who are young in spite of the years is the best testimonial to the value of the L.I.D. and the best assurance for its future.

To speak of the L.I.D. is to speak of Harry Laidler. Oh, his activities and his services have never been confined to this organization, but this has been his principal field throughout these four decades. He would be the first to protest against being called the "indispensable man" of the L.I.D., but every one of his colleagues would insist on giving him first place. We wholeheartedly admire his diligence, his patience, his sound scholarship, his vast store of knowledge and his capacity for putting it to good use. But "admiration" is too cold a word. Modest, gentle, actively kind, frank and faithful in small things and in great, good comrade and good friend—we have long loved him, and our love grows warmer as the years go by.

I know I speak for all of you—Long live Harry Laidler and long live the L.I.D.! (*Applause.*)

PORTR, VOORHIS, KIRCHWEY, HELD

SEND GREETINGS

SOME of the "one-minute" speakers scheduled for the Fortieth Anniversary dinner were unable to be present. PAUL PORTER, former Field Secretary of the L.I.D. and Chairman of the Shipbuilding Stabilization Committee, had recently been named as American Adviser on Labor Affairs to the Allied Control Commission on Germany and the uncertainty as to when he would be called upon to leave the country prevented his attendance at the dinner. Mr. Porter, however, sent a message which was read at the dinner, as follows:

"The League for Industrial Democracy, as everyone knows, is really Harry Laidler. It is his forty years of faithful leadership that is properly celebrated tonight.

"Harry Laidler is living proof that his ideal of a brotherly society is within the reach of men. Some men would quarrel and wrangle their way into a new social order. Some employ deceit, chicanery and bludgeoning. Harry matches his great tenacity of purpose with a gentle reasonableness and an industrious marshalling of facts. Few men of his times have equalled him in maintaining a course so steadily directed toward both security and freedom.

"I am happy to join in honoring Harry Laidler as scholar, prophet and friend of mankind."

Congressman JERRY VOORHIS of California, long a member of the League, was detained in Washington on legislative matters. He telegraphed:

"Sorry pressure of work in Washington makes impossible my presence with you. Please extend greetings to those attending fortieth anniversary meeting and express my earnest hope for early victory in war and for continued progress toward growing economic democracy in future."

FREDA KIRCHWEY, Editor of *The Nation*, and, while an undergraduate at Barnard College, the President of the Barnard Chapter, I.S.S., was expected to be back in this country from a trip to Mexico by the time of the dinner. The Executive Director, however, on February 2nd received the following telegram from Mexico City:

"Am delayed in Mexico. So sorry I must miss the dinner. Please accept congratulations on the League's birthday and warm wishes for a long future of continued good work and of good fighting."

ADOLPH HELD, President of the Amalgamated Bank, unable to be present, wrote:

"At the last minute an important meeting of the Jewish Labor Committee in Boston takes me away for the week-end.

"Please accept my sincerest wishes for a successful anniversary celebration."

FANNIE HURST, novelist, who attended the first portion of the dinner, had to leave for a train to Boston before called upon to speak. The chairman read a tribute written by her to the League as follows:

"The League stands as a staunch ally of the dignity and freedom of man. Never was it more needed. More and more power to it."

PRESENTATION

IN ADDITION to the foregoing remarks, Rev. John Paul Jones, President of the New York Chapter of the L.I.D., urged the members and friends of the League to give it not only their moral but their financial support and dealt upon the vital importance of the League's work to the future progress of the country.

Mark Starr declared that a special fund of \$1,200 had been thus far raised in the name of Dr. Laidler for the purpose of expanding the college work of the League and of promoting research and publication in the field of postwar reconstruction.

He declared also that some of the friends of the League had insisted on presenting to the Executive Director personal gifts in testimony of his forty years of service. The staff of the League and its Board of Directors had contributed toward a beautiful watch and a war bond. Others had made contributions to be used by Dr. Laidler as he deemed wise. Mrs. Clyde, an old friend of the L.I.D., had presented a Missouri Pacific Railroad Bond to be turned over to the Executive Director. Mr. Starr facetiously remarked that, "if the audience found any wavering on the part of Dr. Laidler in his advocacy of public ownership of railroads prior to his possible sale of the bond, they would know the reason why!"

Miss Sara Kaplan, Mr. Laidler's secretary for many years, as a spokesman for the staff, presented the watch and war bond to the Executive Director, in a few gracious words, declaring that Miss Bernstein and she had felt that Dr. Laidler should be given some token of the esteem in which they held him, "and had asked the Board to participate in the 'conspiracy.'" Addressing Dr. Laidler she declared that "it had been a great joy personally to me to work with you these many years and I wish you continued success in the next 40 years."

FURTHER LEAGUE GREETINGS

From Civic Leaders

HAROLD L. ICKES, *Secretary of the Interior*:

"I am glad to greet the League for Industrial Democracy on the occasion of its Fortieth Anniversary Dinner. Intelligent people everywhere now recognize that political democracy is unattainable unless we also secure for all men the economic and cultural freedom which is implied in the word 'democracy.' We may differ among ourselves as to specific objectives or as to the means by which we may progress; but no intelligent person of good will can fail to applaud the sincere efforts of others who are seeking to establish the values of a free and secure society in which the dignity of man may be assured."

HENRY A. WALLACE, *Secretary of Commerce*:

"In some unaccountable way your letter of January 26 was delayed and reached me after February 3rd had passed. I am sorry that it did not arrive in time for me to send a message of greeting to your Fortieth Anniversary Dinner, and trust the occasion was an unusually fine one."

MARY K. SIMKHOVITCH, *head worker at Greenwich House, and Vice-Chairman, New York City Housing Authority*:

"I am deeply disappointed not to be with you this evening.

"Harry Laidler's leadership in many fields, his modesty, ability and sincerity have made him one of the most treasured citizens of our country. I have known him best in the Housing field, where his wisdom is outstanding.

"My love to him and congratulations from my husband and myself on this important landmark in the life of the League."

MRS. HENRY A. INGRAHAM, *Chairman National Board, Y.W.C.A.*:

"It is with very keen regret that it will not be possible to come to your dinner.

"May I take this opportunity to congratulate you on the work done under your leadership and to wish you all success for the future?"

STANLEY M. ISAACS, *New York City Councilman*:

"The League for Industrial Democracy has served, and is serving, a most vital purpose in stimulating the study of social and

economic problems. In a democracy, there are few more important services that can be rendered by any organization."

JUSTINE WISE POLIER, *Judge of Domestic Relations Court, New York; formerly active L.I.D. student leader*:

"I wish I could be at your anniversary dinner because of my deep appreciation for what you and your colleagues did for many of us in college years ago."

CAROL ARONOVICI, *Authority on City Planning*:

"There is no more difficult and important task before this nation than the conservation and integration of the advances towards industrial democracy which the present war has fostered and the purging of industry of the elements of war time compulsions which have been forced upon us. Towards these ends the work of the League for Industrial Democracy is destined to render a service indispensable to the social, economic and political stability of the nation."

NELLIE M. SEEDS, *Staff, National War Labor Board*:

"In these days when the lust for power seems to be threatening the future of civilization abroad, it is a great comfort to know that the League is going ahead with its work. The League has a future as well as a past. Of that I feel sure. With the young people lies the hope of an ultimate re-definition of success—not in terms of money or power politics, but of freedom—which is relative to the freedom of the other fellow. I used to say to my children at Manumit School, 'You want to be free—yes. But your freedom must end where the other fellow's nose begins.'"

From League Officers

ROBERT MORSS LOVETT, *President L.I.D. 1921-40*:

"I wish I could be with you at the Fortieth Anniversary of the L.I.D. I always regard my connection with the League as one of the happiest of my life—perhaps next to Hull House."

MARY R. SANFORD and HELEN PHELPS STOKES, *Vice-Presidents of the L.I.D. and members of the Board since 1907 (telegram)*:

"Wish we could be with all of you to celebrate Fortieth Anniversary of the L.I.D. but cannot get down from Vermont. Regards to all especially to the League's distinguished Executive Director, Dr. Laidler."

ALEXANDER MEIKLEJOHN, *Vice-President, L.I.D.*:

"For the thirty or more years in which I have known it, the

League has been true to the faith in a genuine democracy. I'd like to pay my tribute to the men and women who have kept the course straight and especially to you, Dr. Laidler, for your unfailing leadership."

VIDA D. SCUDDER, *Professor Emeritus of English, Wellesley College; Vice-President L.I.D.*:

"Of all the 60 odd associations for reform, philanthropy, evolution, of which I am a dues-paying member, none commands my confidence and gratitude more than the L.I.D. and what splendid service you (Dr. Laidler) have rendered it during the long years!"

RABBI EPHRAIM FRISCH, *Member Board, L.I.D.*:

"Absence on a long speaking trip prevents me, to my great regret, from joining you in the celebration of the 40th anniversary of the League. I take this method of extending my warmest congratulations to the officers and members of the League on its signal achievements in the important field of human relations in which it has been laboring these forty years, and my best wishes for a future of expanding fruitfulness. Please also convey my felicitations to Dr. Harry W. Laidler, our unique Executive Director, for his distinguished and indispensable part in the picture."

From Educators

WILBUR C. HALLENBECK, *Associate Professor of Education, Teachers College, Columbia*:

"There was never any greater need for the work of the League for Industrial Democracy and I have utmost confidence in the integrity and intelligence of the group that make up the organization. There is no one in the forward-looking group in America in whom I have more complete confidence than the Executive Director of the L.I.D., Mr. Harry W. Laidler."

HIRAM K. MODERWELL, *writer; former Secretary, Harvard Socialist Club*:

"When I was in Harvard around 1910, there was precious little evidence brought to the attention of the undergraduate that new and powerful forces were stirring in the world. The L.I.D. brought that evidence to scores of our colleges. Some of us at Harvard, stimulated and encouraged by your organization, started the Harvard Socialist Club. We were grateful to the L.I.D. (I.S.S.) then and I am happy that its strength has waxed with age."

JOHN A. FITCH, *Professor of Social Work, New York School of Social Work*:

"The League has done great work in stimulating public thinking on the vital social issues of our time. Its influence has spread far beyond its membership. Under your direction it has come to have a wide reputation as an agency that can be depended on for careful and scholarly research, and for leadership in the direction of progressive social action."

ELSIE HARPER, *Secretary, Public Affairs Committee, National Board, Y.W.C.A.*:

"The L.I.D. has performed a wonderful service in education for democracy. The material produced from time to time has been invaluable to me in my work."

GEORGE S. COUNTS, *Director of Teachers College, Columbia*:

"You have done a magnificent educational job!"

REBECCA C. SIMONSON, *President, Teachers' Guild, New York City*:

"In these difficult times there is an ever increasing demand for the enlightened leadership of the League for Industrial Democracy."

ISABEL TAYLOR:

"I consider the L.I.D. one of the most vital and necessary forces in American life."

MRS. WILLIAM ENGLISH WALLING:

"May the League for Industrial Democracy soon see the triumph of the cause of liberty and human brotherhood for which it has so long and so consistently struggled!"

FANNIA M. COHN, *Secretary, Educational Department, I.L.G.W.U.*:

"I am accepting your invitation to be a sponsor of the anniversary dinner of the League for Industrial Democracy. In this way I will express my appreciation for a man who dedicated a life of devotion, scholarship and talent in a tireless effort to enlighten our youth and inspire them to intelligent action. It will also convey to you my best wishes for a happier future for suffering mankind."

GERTRUDE C. BUSSEY, *Goucher College*:

"Best wishes for your continued work and for ever greater success for the L.I.D."

"You, Dr. Laidler, have worked with such steadfast devotion and intelligence that all of us who believe in the cause of freedom and justice in America are deeply in your debt."

MANDEL V. HALUSHKA, Teacher, Chicago, Ill.:

"Birthday greetings to America's Fabian Society!

"Many organizations with much larger membership and greater financial support have come and gone since September 8, 1905. Few organizations have championed a better cause than the League for Industrial Democracy during these many years."

Other messages were received from:

DR. JOHN DEWEY, Honorary President of the L.I.D., from Florida; ELISABETH GILMAN of Baltimore, former L.I.D. President; MARY FOX, former Executive Secretary, L.I.D.; BISHOP G. BROMLEY OXNAM, Bishop of the Methodist Church in the New York area; GUSTAV EGLOFF, President, American Institute of Chemists; DR. OTTO NATHAN, Economist; DR. ARNOLD DRESDEN, Swarthmore College; DR. JOEL SEIDMAN, former Field Secretary of the League, now with the armed forces; BRUCE BLIVEN, Editor of the New Republic; MAX DELSON, New York attorney; WILLIAM M. FEIGENBAUM, Journalist; RABBI HENRY COHEN of Galveston, Texas; DEVERE ALLEN, Editor, Worldover Press; ANGELICA BALABANOFF, Author; SAMUEL GREEN, business man; PROFESSOR ADOLPH LOWE, Executive Director of Research, Institute of World Affairs; DR. WILLIAM P. MONTAGUE, Professor of Philosophy, Columbia and former President of the American Philosophical Society.

ON THE DAIS

Among those occupying the dais at the Dinner outside of the speakers of the evening, were Bishop Francis J. McConnell, Vice-President of the L.I.D. and former President of the Federal Council of Churches; Leonard D. Abbott, essayist, editor, signer of the call for the formation of the L.I.D.; Dr. Bjarne Braatoy, former President of the L.I.D. and member of the staff of the Office of Strategic Services; Mrs. John Paul Jones; Hon. A. M. Nicholson, M.P., Treasurer, C.C.F. of Canada; Mrs. Bonaro W. Overstreet, poetess and writer; Joseph Schlossberg, Secretary-Treasurer of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and member of the Board of Higher Education, New York City; and Ashley L. Totten, Secretary-Treasurer, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

SOME PAMPHLETS OF THE L. I. D.

The L.I.D. — Forty Years of Education Upton Sinclair, Harry W. Laidler and many others	\$.25
Recent Trends in British Trade Unions—N. Barou, and British Trade Union Congress' Interim Report on Postwar Reconstruction—A Summary15
Public Debt and Taxation in the Postwar World—William Withers15
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Labor Parties of Latin America—Robert Alexander15
What Price Telephones?—Norman Perelman15
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Thirty-five Years of Educational Pioneering—John Dewey, Jonathan Daniels and others10
The Federal Government and Functional Democracy—Harry W. Laidler10
Monopoly and Big Business—Irving Lipkowitz20
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New Zealand's Labor Government at Work—W. B. Sutch15
Russia—Democracy or Dictatorship?—Norman Thomas and Joel Seidman25
Mexico in Transition—Clarence Senior15
Health Security for the Nation—John Kingsbury15
Anti-Labor Activities in the U. S.—David Saposs, <i>et al.</i>15
Democracy vs. Dictatorship—Norman Thomas15
Rich Land, Poor Land—Stuart Chase15
The Office Worker—Orlie Pell10
Railroads vs. Public Interest—Irving Lipkowitz10
European Trade Unionism and Politics—Dr. Franz Neumann, preface by Harold J. Laski15
America's Struggle for Electric Power—John Bauer10
Shall Strikes be Outlawed?—Joel Seidman15

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